

Message Text

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S E C R E T LUSAKA 1494

NODIS

DEPT PASS NSC FOR AARON

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: OVIP (KAUNDA, KENNETH) ZA MASS
SUBJECT: KAUNDA VISIT: ARMS ASSISTANCE

1. WE HAVE A NUMBER OF INDICATIONS THAT DURING PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON HE WILL ASK ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO ZAMBIA. THIS IS A SUBJECT WITH WHICH THE ZAMBIANS HAVE BEEN TOYING FOR AT LEAST TWO YEARS. THEY INQUIRED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY IN 1976, AND WERE INFORMED THAT THEY WERE NOT THEN ON THE FMS LIST AND THAT A PRESIDENTIAL DETERMINATION WOULD BE REQUIRED TO MAKE THEM ELIGIBLE FOR FMS CREDITS. THIS ENTAILED CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT. BUT WE ASSURED THEM THAT WE WOULD BE GLAD TO SET THE PROCESS IN MOTION, AND WOULD LOOK SYMPATHETICALLY ON SUCH REQUESTS. THEY DID NOT REPEAT THEIR INQUIRY AT THE TIME. AS THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, PRESIDENT KAUNDA REFERRED TO THE POSSIBILITY TO ANDY YOUNG DURING HIS MARCH VISIT TO LUSAKA.

2. WE BELIEVE KAUNDA IS OF TWO MINDS ON THE SUBJECT. ON THE ONE HAND, HE MAY BELIEVE HE COULD GET GOOD EQUIPMENT QUICKLY AND CHEAPLY FROM US; HE FEELS HE SHOULD DEMONSTRATE HIS COMMITMENT TO NON-ALIGNMENT BY APPEALING TO

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ALL FOR HELP, INCLUDING THE WEST AS WELL AS THE EAST; FINALLY HE WOULD LIKE TO BE ABLE TO SAY THAT HE HAS BEEN TURNED DOWN BY THE WEST AND THEREFORE WAS FORCED TO SEEK MILITARY ASSISTANCE FROM THE EAST. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE DO NOT BELIEVE HE WOULD LIKE TO GET INVOLVED IN A POLITICAL HASSLE OVER THE SUBJECT. HE HAS ALWAYS CONSIDERED HIMSELF AN ADVOCATE OF NONVIOLENCE THOUGH HE RECOGNIZES THAT MILITARY ACTION

IS SOMETIMES UNAVOIDABLE. THEREFORE HE WOULD NOT LIKE TO SUBJECT HIMSELF TO A LOT OF PUBLICITY AND CRITICISM IN THE FREE WORLD ON THIS SUBJECT. ANY DEALINGS WITH REGARD TO ARMS HE LIKES DONE AS QUICKLY AND QUIETLY AS POSSIBLE.

3. KAUNDA HAS MANY SOURCES OF SUPPLY FOR MILITARY EQUIPMENT. BESIDES EQUIPMENT FROM EASTERN COUNTRIES, HE NOW HAS ARMS FROM YUGOSLAVIA, THE UK, WEST GERMANY, ITALY, INDIA AND EGYPT. WE UNDERSTAND HE HAS ALSO APPEALED TO THE FINNS AND MAY GO TO THE OTHER SCANDINAVIANS. THUS HE HAS NO SERIOUS PROBLEM IN FINDING SOURCES FOR HIS ARMS PURCHASES.

4. FROM EARLIER CONTACTS WITH SENATOR CLARK AND MORE RECENTLY SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE STAFFERS, I KNOW THAT ARMS ASSISTANCE TO ZAMBIA WOULD BE STRONGLY OPPOSED NOT ONLY BY CONSERVATIVES WHO WOULD CASTE IT IN TERMS OF INDIRECT SUPPORT FOR THE TERRORISTS BUT ALSO BY THOSE WHO ARE ZAMBIA'S STRONGEST BACKERS IN THE CONGRESS. WHILE WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO FORCE THROUGH SOME SUPPORT IN SPITE OF THIS, IT WOULD ONLY BE AFTER A BRUISING STRUGGLE WHICH I BELIEVE KAUNDA WOULD DEEPLY RESENT.

5. AS A RESULT OF THE ABOVE, I SUGGEST THAT WE RESPOND TO ANY APPROACH FROM KAUNDA FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE AS FOLLOWS:
1) WE UNDERSTAND AND SYMPATHIZE WITH THE NEED FOR AN ADEQUATE MILITARY DEFENSE, AND WANT TO CONTRIBUTE IN THE WAY WE ARE BEST
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SET UP TO DO SO. 2) PRIMARILY WE SEE OUR ASSISTANCE TO ZAMBIA IN TERMS OF FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WHICH WE HAVE THE CAPACITY TO PROVIDE AND ZAMBIA HAS SHOWN ITSELF SO EFFICIENT IN USING WELL. THIS SHOULD ENABLE ZAMBIA TO USE OTHER SCARCE RESOURCES AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE FOR MILITARY PURPOSES. 3) OUR LEGISLATIVE STRUCTURE IS SO DESIGNED THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO PROVIDE MILITARY ASSISTANCE IN A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME WITHOUT CONGRESSIONAL DEBATE. 4) WE DO THINK HOWEVER THAT THERE ARE TWO OTHER THINGS WE COULD DO WHICH MIGHT HELP:
A) WE HAVE A MILITARY ATTACHE IN LILONGWE WHOSE ACCREDITATION IN ZAMBIA WE HAVE REPEATEDLY REQUESTED. WE BELIEVE THAT IF THIS REQUEST WERE APPROVED AND IT BECAME KNOWN TO SMITH, THE ATTACHE'S OCCASIONAL PRESENCE IN ZAMBIA MIGHT MAKE THE RHODESIANS MORE CAUTIOUS IN THEIR ACTIONS. B) WE ARE PREPARED TO INDICATE TO A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES SUCH AS ITALY, YUGOSLAVIA, INDIA AND EGYPT, OUR SUPPORT FOR ANY EFFORTS ON THEIR PART TO SUPPLY DEFENSIVE ARMS TO ZAMBIA ON AN URGENT BASIS.

6. IF THERE IS ANYTHING WHICH CAN BE DONE TO BOLSTER THE PROPOSAL IN PARA 5.4) B) ABOVE, I BELIEVE IT WOULD BE THE MOST USEFUL THING WE COULD DO IN TERMS OF ARMS ASSISTANCE HERE IN ZAMBIA. WASHINGTON AGENCIES WILL BE BETTER ABLE TO WORK

UP THIS PROPOSAL THAN WE. THEY MIGHT STUDY THE MATTER IN
ORDER TO MAKE OUR ASSISTANCE ON ZAMBIA'S BEHALF WITH THIRD
COUNTRIES AS CONCRETE AS POSSIBLE.
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